1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

618 624 because he is backed by a group of friends. He succeeds to office according to certain definite customs of the clan. The chief must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestor." When a T'u-ssu dies, the heads of all the noble families, together with the most prominent heads of families among the commoners, convene to choose a successor. It may seem anomalous that commoners should take part in the choosing of a new chief. The way in which the lower status of commoners in the ceremonial veneration of the clan ancestor is emphasized has already been described. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles that can never be completely eliminated. Nevertheless, in the last years of the history of the old Monguor society the differences between nobles and commoners had in many ways practically ceased to exist. The heads of prominent commoner families took part in all meetings at which clan affairs were discussed. In the Monguor clans, there were commoners who were wealthier, more learned, more honored in the community, and more proficient in administrative matters than many of the nobles. It even occurred that when there were quarrels among the nobles, distinguished and respected commoners were called in to mediate. It may be, therefore, either that the participation of commoners in the choice of the new chief represents no more than a condescension on the part of the nobles, for the sake of mere civility, or that there is a lingering tradition from the ancient times of tribal history that the choice of the ruling part of the tribe (now the Monguor clan) must be ratified by the consent of the governed part of the tribe.[13]

Examination of the lists of the genealogies of all the Monguor clans as they are recorded in the *Annals* of the Prefecture of Hsining suggests the conclusion that the first son of the first wife of the T'u-ssu regularly succeeded to the office of his father. If the senior son died before his father but left a living son, then this son was entitled to the succession even if he were only an adopted son. In case the senior son died before his father and left no male issue, however, the next senior brother of the T'u-ssu, or that brother's son, was entitled to the succession. In the family chronicles of the Lu clan I have found one exception to this rule, and only one, a case in which the first son of the first wife did not succeed, the succession going instead to the brother next senior to him. I shall deal with this instance in the study of the genealogy of this clan which I am preparing for publication.

618 578 611 When a T'u-ssu dies leaving no sons, trouble usually breaks out in the clan because each of the surviving brothers of the T'u-ssu is eager to secure the succession either for himself or for his own eldest son. In such cases, if one of the contending brothers has more influence in the community than the others, or is richer or more popular with the clan, he succeeds in getting his

[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 100. [p. 44a]

1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

596 587 Theoretically, it might be argued that a son who had left the extended family to live separately would be free to take a concubine. In practice, he is rarely able to do so because the commonest reason for leaving the extended family is that it has become too poor to support all its members. The son who is starting life separately is, therefore, usually starting as a man too poor to afford a concubine.

587 Polygamy is, however, not frowned on in the case of a small family consisting of husband and wife, economically well off but without children. In order to prevent the line from dying out, thus breaking the continuity in the ancestor-cult, it is quite proper to take a concubine, even if the couple has already adopted a child. Polygamy is also not unusual in a small family in which there are children, if the family are well off; in such cases, if the wife does not object, her husband takes a concubine and the concubine helps her in her housework.

In one case in my experience, in a rich family consisting of husband, wife, and one son, who was already married, the mother objected to her husband taking a concubine, but did not mind arranging for a second wife for her son; the arrangement was one that provided an extra worker in the family.

The Monguors make a distinction between polygamy, as described above, and the levirate. In a family in which there are several sons, all of them married and having children, if one of the sons dies, the widow becomes the second wife of one of his brothers (usually a younger brother). The distinction between the levirate and polygamy is clear. Polygamy requires the expenditure of family funds for the acquisition of a second wife or concubine. In the levirate, the bride-price has already been paid; if the widow should leave the family in order to marry an outsider of her choice, she would be a loss to the family and it is proper, therefore, to make an arrangement that keeps her in the family. The levirate is, however, only practiced when brothers are still living together in the extended family; and when the widow consents.

THE FAMILY CHIEF

592 611 The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head of the family. If at this moment the extended family should break up, instead of continuing to live together, the eldest son is privileged to receive a larger share of the fields and cattle forming the common property, and his own eldest son shares this privilege, also receiving a cow or horse, or a field. This rule of succession and inheritance is followed by both nobles and commoners.

592 In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. He repre-

/Tibetans of Chinghai/

N *563 586 the father invariably keeps the sons, but a daughter sometimes goes with her mother.

VI. The Mongours

M 594 596 [61] [591] N *563 M [556] M [361] M [182] [252] M [342] M [264] [342] N *563 M 592 554 [569]

A. The Family Organization

Schram describes the typical Mongour family as being "patrilineal, extended and patrilocal". The extended family is composed of a number of closely related nuclear families. A nuclear family consists of a man, his wife and their unmarried offspring. The extended family is usually headed by the grandfather, or the great-grandfather, if he is alive; his wife, his sons, and, if they are married, their wives and children compose the rest of the family. In the richer families, occasionally the concubine, or concubines, and their offspring also belong to the extended family.

The extended family has a common courtyard, around which the separate dwellings of the nuclear families are grouped. The property is owned by the group as a whole, but the head of the family has the most authority over it. The common kitchen, hearth and chimney symbolize the unity of the extended family. This fact is often expressed in Mongour sayings like "our family has only one chimney," or "we all eat out of one cooking-cauldron." Thus, the breakdown of an extended family is symbolized by one of its nuclear families setting up its own kitchen and beginning to cook its own food. Within the extended family, the nuclear families are well defined. The identity of the nuclear family is emphasized by the fact that it has its own room within the quarters of the extended family. In it are kept some personal possessions, like clothing. After eating the main meal of the day with the rest of the extended family, each nuclear family returns to its own room.

The family head is the religious chief, family administrator and family representative in dealing with higher authorities. Each spring, on the occasion of the ceremony venerating the ancestors, he represents the family in general meetings of the clan. Nor are his duties confined to the family religious rites. As head of a family, he also is required to attend shamanistic ceremonies in the village temple. Even more important are his economic duties and responsibilities. He has control over all the community property belonging to the extended family, and any money due any of its individual members is deposited with him. He is the one who decides how this money is to be spent. He also handles all the important economic transactions of the family, such as buying and selling cattle and grain. Moreover, the family head directs and supervises the ordinary tasks of cattle breeding and cultivating the fields, and assigns members of the family to their daily duties. He also enjoys a certain authority over the private matters of the individuals; e.g., he makes the arrangements for marriage and funerals, and

preclude their enjoying any great influence.

The Salars' pattern of social life follows the Islamic form. Patriarchy rules the extended family, whose members' main occupation is agricultural work. However, agriculture goes hand in hand with trade, which plays also a noticeable role. As a group, the Salars are economically unimportant since they form only a small Turkic tribe.

The Sarigh Uighurs:

The Sarigh Uighurs, the so-called Yellow Uighurs, are a small tribe of Turkic origin which is becoming extinct. Although immediate neighbors of the Chinese, they never learned agriculture, and remained herdsmen. Nowadays the Sarigh Uighurs are mostly hired shepherds of Chinese cattle owners. Frequently one also finds them as laborers on Chinese farms. An occasional Sarigh Uighur family owns a few cows, sheep, and horses. The smallest and the only social unit, is the patriarchal family.

The Shera Yögur:

The people belonging to this small Mongolian tribe, rapidly becoming extinct, are semi-nomadic herdsmen. The old Mongolian clan-system is still preserved. Clan exogamy exists and the migrational units are the single clans. The economic centers, however, are their Buddhist monasteries, for it is the monasteries who own the herds and not the individual tribesmen.

The Monguors:

Ethnically consisting of Mongols, Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, speaking an old Mongolian and Tibetanized dialect, the Monguors are the only Mongolian tribe of the Northwest that shifted successfully from nomadic pastoralism to farming. They learned farming and the use of their agricultural tools for raising barley, wheat, peas, potatoes, etc., from the Chinese. However, livestock still plays an important role as the second inportant economic resource. While sheep, cows, mules, and pigs are economically important, horses are bred only because to own horses is a mark of prestige.

The basic social and economic unit of the Monguors is the extended family which is patrilineally and patrilocally oriented. The grandfather and great-grandfather enjoy authority over all members of the family. Property is collectively owned.

The families belong to a clan which is headed by a chieftain whose Chinese title is T'u-ssu, who is at the same time a Chinese official. Originally the clan chieftain was simply the head of a number of extended families, whose migrations he directed and whose highest duty was the military protection of the clan through organization and training of the men. Later